[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the [515] teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down 164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are 753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there. 757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie." 147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some- 753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is 755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'óã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year, 513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[45 cont.]
Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care. Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky sap of a plant called timba.

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long; the toenails are often fissured.

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still . . sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a little every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flattened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, unfortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 482 [222] Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she decorated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 415 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot, bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed and filled their ostrich eggshells.

515
262

DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

361
342

There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222

Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

[p.40]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).